619 /101/ chain. This feeling has its price. It is not unimportant that old Makhzen /makhzan/ protocol classes all these tribes, or at least those with which it is familiar, as "people of the Dir" [443] (Diyyâra). But observation of a market such as Imintanout orients 619 the research differently. The principal bulk of the exchanges is 438 made less between the two terms of the plain-mountain pair than 439 between the plain-mountain pair and the great South on the one side, Marrakech on the other (1).

[114] 1. That comes out in the evidence of the inquiry conducted on the spot, in the spring of 1952, by MM. Adam, Trystram, Granai, and several other researchers.

Imintanout is the relay toward the Haouz in a system in which 464 Goulimine is the relay toward Mauritania. Besides, like the Sons, 166 the Atlas is a great provider of seasonal or permanent manual 167 labor. A mass of wages and savings irrigates the country. The amplitude of this movement extends toward the N. up to the large towns of the coast. It goes far beyond the simple solidarities of Dir. It enlarges the economic and human cadre up to limits which, today at least, go beyond Morocco and even the Métropole.

121 The relation of the plain and the mountain is thus irreducible 619 to a simplistic dialogue. One divines a thousand connections that bind the partners, not solely between them, but the two of them to a world singularly larger than the picturesque isolation of the high cantons might make one presume. By degrees, it is the whole external articulation of a seemingly closed system that one is led to 174 examine. Now, beyond some historical indications, in part conjectural, we have at our disposal for such an examination only extrapolations from the present. The method is risky. Two precise elements nevertheless at the very least authorize the investigation. They are none other than those of the daily food: and, because of that, concrete and, in a certain measure, durable.

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317 438 439 [487] Among the economic determinants that make the mountain depend on the plain, let us mention in the very first place salt (2).

2. The salt route is as important for the montagnards as, on an entirely different scale, that of spices was for the medieval Occident: at bottom a question of cuisine!

[262] [263] In nourishment based on flat cakes and porridge, the importance of condiments is considerable. It is not exaggerating to see in this, much more than in the cereals, the most imperious servitude of the montagnard with regard to the outside. By food, in fact, the whole balance of family life is affected: potent motive, although originating from obscure causes toward which observation is too rarely inclined. The Seksawa mountain is destitute of salt. [443] Even today it is seen in huge /102/ whitish or pink piles at the souq /sook/ of Imintanout. It comes from the Idaw Isaren, in H'ah'a, and from the far-away lagoons of the Inzzūyma, called by us "Lac Zima." Two qualities, one of which, very bitter to the taste, is naturally preferred by the montagnards for their animals and themselves. If therefore, classical method in the old Moroccan chronicles, the power of the plain blockades the Seksawa, or hems them in at the border markets, it is the salt route that it cuts for them, even more harshly than that of barley (1).

1. An example, dating from the beginning of the eighteenth century, in Justinard, La Rihla du Marabout de Tasaft /The Rihla of the Marabout of Tasaft/, 1940, pp. 37 sq.

243 In fact, the high valleys devote to cereal cultivation a portion that astonishes us, because it involves what would appear, in a strict economy, as a waste of land and water, and especially of labor. But they gain from it what we might call a flywheel /Fr. volant/ of security. Cereal cultivation with great expense, with great feelings: one will see all that such feelings can have to be

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226 438 primitive nets thousands of tuna and bonito, which are sold, dried or cooked, at a great distance at the markets of the interior. But, in spite of the interest that the complementary resources of fishing present for this poor country, the shores of the Ocean remain nearly deserted. The scarcity of springs, insufficient activity of the inhabitants, and the dangers of the shelters and beaches contribute toward making the shores of the Atlantic one of the most classic types of "côte de dispersion" /coast of dispersion/.

133 361 [226]

133 361 648 Moreover, the difficulties of access to the coast have most often sufficed to keep foreign navigators away. As in all the other Atlantic regions of Morocco, the masters of the sea who were trying to get a foothold on the continent encountered here, as a matter of fact, a double difficulty: first of all they had to conquer the perils of the bar /Fr. barre, bar, bore, helm/ and then the resistance of the tribes, whose habitat located in the interior escaped their direct reach. These circumstances explain at the same time the repulse of outside intervention /22/ and the feeble vitality of the small ports of the Ocean, whose role has been limited to small-scale fishing and the commercial traffic of a poor country, retired within itself, and which for a long time has asked the Occident only for arms in order to defend itself and thus to preserve its isolation better.

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Thus no maritime Berbère /Berber/ civilization has ever been seen to rise on the banks of the Sous, since the autochthons have shown themselves incapable of leaving the shore in their too-fragile boats, any more than there developed lasting foreign activity that might have perceptibly modified the life of the country. The Phoenician settlements founded by Hannon /Hanno/ in the fifth century before our era had only a fleeting life and disappeared without leaving any traces. In the time of Juba, the Fortunate Isles -- the Archipelago of the Canaries -- seem to have been the objective of the Roman fleets much more than the poor shelters of this coast of the Sous. Later the Arab sailors who frequented the shores of the Atlantic from Tangier to Senegal up to the thirteenth century do not appear to have given much attention to the south of Morocco. When at the end of the fourteenth century Jean de Bethancourt /Béthencourt/ took possession of the Canaries, where populations of Berbère /Berber/ or Libyc origin,

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43 Nevertheless, formerly, in the isolation of this region, a
182 balanced regime had been established here; at the cost of some
[166] privations, a population that remained retired within itself suc-
[731] ceeded in providing for itself, especially in the mountains; it did not have to call on the outside to increase its resources -- in the form of temporary emigration of the able-bodied men -- except at times of famine. Moreover, the profits which the Chleuhs /Shluh/ know how to make from the trade that they carry on in the towns even used to give certain tribes -- /47/ the Aït ʿAïsi and the Aït Mzal, for example -- actual prosperity.

433 But this fragile economy was to be upset by the opening of
•439 Morocco to European markets in the nineteenth century. So poor
182 a country was indeed tempted to improve its difficult conditions
177 of existence by importing foodstuffs, clothing, and manufactured
[631] objects; but at the same time its purchases were contributing toward exhausting it. Moreover, since the establishment of the power of the great chiefs and kaids over the independent communities had the consequence of imposing heavy burdens on the tribes, the economic ruin of the Sous was to be brought about in two generations of people.

433 In truth, the various parts of the country found themselves
184 unequally affected by this transformation, according to their
182 initial state of poverty, the way of life of their inhabitants, and
177 their degree of penetration by the modern economy.

511 In the mountainous regions, at least where the political evo-
556 lution has not noticeably altered the primitive conditions of the
[184] people, there are neither true poor nor true rich. Each Berbère
[422] /Berber/ possesses a small flock of sheep and goats, and in the
[423] bottom of the valley some cultivated terraces, big walnut trees irrigated by the séguias, and almond trees on the flank of the mountain. Barley, rye, maize, turnips, long garlands of which dry hung along the houses, suffice for daily subsistence. Goats or sheep are sacrificed only on festival days or when a guest
511 comes by. Clothing does not require any great expense. That of
556 the women is made of a very long piece of brown wool with
291 which the body is adroitly draped and which is held above the

/47 cont./

511 breasts by clasps of silver, bronze, or thorn. The men envelop
556 themselves in a shorter piece of wool, unless they wear -- in our
291 day this is the most frequent case -- a long shirt and breeches of cotton goods. A full black cloak, "akhnif," provided with a hood and decorated on the back with a curious red motif, completes the costume of the montagnard.

32 The Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ is almost entirely devoid of
184 local industries; by contrast, in the Anti-Atlas and the Sirwa there are several centers of activity, whose origin and traditions are still little known and would doubtless merit being studied.
325 Artisans /48/ there know how to smelt the iron and copper ores
326 that are found in metallic deposits of minor importance and
184 whose presence has been enough to perpetuate the reputation of mineral wealth of the South. Master workmen, nearly all descendants of black slaves, manufacture guns and daggers inlaid
[306] with silver. Others, Jews or Mussulmans, preserve the tradition
[178] of jewelry work of bronze, silver, and gold. There is not any doubt, to be sure, that these small industrial centers have already been hit by decline.

• 439 For twenty years the development of commerce in the whole
177 of the Empire and the influx of commodities and manufactured goods from the Occident have been making their effects felt as far as the depths of the high valleys. To buy these novelties, the
[432] montagnard sells in the souks /sooks/ of the Dir his harvests of
[464] walnuts and almonds and part of his flock, and he sends his sons to work in the towns of the Gharb /Rharb/, to Algeria, and to France.

556 In the plains the distance between rich and poor increases
184 still more rapidly. The former own the gardens; the others cul-
511 tivate them. Irrigated fields give cereals, vegetables, and fruits in abundance. Olive and argan oil constitute another kind of wealth, which is transported in goatskins as far as the towns of the North. The greater proximity of the markets facilitates the introduction of foreign products in such a way that the material existence of a notable of the Sous plain tends to become similar to that of the other provinces where the Makhzen /makhzan/ has

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121 *631 conquest of the tribes was realized during these five years of war: it is the presence of modern armament in the hands of the great kaids.

175 *631 713 648 •439 In the course of the two sherifian expeditions into the Sous, in 1882 and 1886, there figures in fact, for the first time in the /335/ mehallas of the Sultan, a true artillery, operated by specialists, under the command of a French officer; machine guns and especially cartridge guns thus appear, which attract the attention of the Berbères /Berbers/. The young mountain chiefs understand immediately the advantage that they will be able to draw from these new arms, against which the old flintlock guns of the montagnards will be worthless. Thus shortly afterward we see the Glawi ask for and get from the old sovereign, upon the passage of the mehalla from the Tafilelt, a Krupp cannon and modern guns. The Gontafi and the Mtouggi take care to buy at Mogador or to obtain from the Makhzen /makhzan/ of Ba Hmad, "Martinie" and "Chassepot" guns in order to put them in the hands of their companions. The supplying of arms to the South of Morocco is all the easier because the European powers are then competing to intervene in the affairs of the Moroccan Empire, and because certain of them are facilitating the clandestine importation of guns and cartridges, both on the Rif coasts and on those of the Sous. For twenty years, until the progress of the contraband enabled the tribes remaining independent to acquire in turn chassepots, lebels /French magazine-rifles/, and Mausers, the kaids of the Atlas will enjoy marked superiority in combat, thanks to modern armament; they will be able to utilize it to break all resistance and to constitute their large commands in a few years.

175 *631 *634 926 648 The Glawi, fortunate possessor of the Krupp cannon, first begins the struggle against the amghars of the south of the Atlas, around whom are grouped the independent tribes. All forces of resistance to the penetration of the "Makhzen" /makhzan/ -- for Si el Madani invokes the name of the Sultan and orders received from Marrakech in order to justify his conquests -- unite around the amghar ʿAli n Aït Haddo of the Aït Zineb, whose father,